

Message Text

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PAGE 01 AMMAN 00435 01 OF 02 241446Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----241451Z 022843 /41

P R 241010Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 286
INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMSCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 AMMAN 0435

EXDIS

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: PFOR JO US
SUBJECT: JORDAN-US RELATIONS::ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSEMENT

SUMMARY: JORDANS PROPOSES FOR PLAYING A MODERATING
ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS HAVE INCREASED OVER
THE LAST YEAR. KING HUSSEIN IS STILL CONCERNED NOT
TO OVERPLAY HIS HAND AND HE WANTS OUR ADVICE CLOSE
COORDINATION AND SUPPORT IN HIS DIPLOMATIC MOVES.
FRUSTRATION OF THE CURRENT ARAB PEACE INITIATIVE
WOULD BRING S STRONG PRESSURE ON JORDAN TO JOIN IN
ANY MILITARY OPTIONS THAT SYRIA AND EGYPT MIGHT
PURSUE. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE BECAUSE OF JORDANS
CLOSER TIES WITH ASAD AND SADAT. WE BELIEVE KING
HUSSEIN WOULD WANT AND TRY TO STAY OUT OF RENEWED
ARAB-ISRAELI HOSTILITIES AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. HOWEVER
HE MIGHT WELL IN TIME BE DRAWN INTO SENDING TROOPS TO
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PAGE 02 AMMAN 00435 01 OF 02 241446Z

FIGHT ON OTHER ARAB SOIL AS HE DID IN SYRIA IN 1973.
WE CAN ENCOURAGE JORDANS INCLINATION TO
CONTINUE TO PURSUE A MODERATE AND ENGAGED POSTURE ON
PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO PREVENT OR LIMIT ITS
MILITARY INVOLVEMENT BY MAINTAINING ITS STRENGTH AND
ASSURING KING HUSSEIN OF OUR CONTINUING SPECIAL TIES
AND CONCERN FOR HIS COUNTRY. JORDANS SMALL CONTRIBU

TION TO POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE ARAB GULF STATES
BRINGS IT FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM THOSE OIL
PRODUCING COUNTRIES THAT OTHERWISE MIGHT BE ASKED OF
US. IN MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY JORDANIS THIRD
WORLD MODERATE ON NON ARAB ISRAELI ISSUES AND WE
SEEK TO KEEP IT SO. END SUMMARY

1. THIS TELEGRAM SUMMARIZES FULL POLICY ASSESSEMENT
BEING SENT ADDRESSEES BY AIRGRAM.

2. OUT INTERESTS IN JORDAN DERIVE FROM ITS ABILITY
TO PLAY A MODERATE ARAB ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS
ITS GEOGRAPHICAL IMPORTANCE TO ARAB ISRAELI PALESTINIAN AND PLO
CALCULATIONS ABOUT RENEWED HOSTILITIES, ITS CONTRI
BUTION TO POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE OIL PRODUCING
ARAB PENINSULA AND ITS OCCASIONAL DEFECTION FROM
THIRD WORLD BLOC VOTING ON NON ARAB ISRAELI MULTI
LATERAL DIPLOMACY ISSUES.

3. PEACE--THE POLITICAL WEAKENING OF THE PLO IN
1976 ENHANCED JORDAN'S STANDING AS A POTENTIAL PARTY TO PEACE
NEGOTIATIONS. MOREOVER EGYPT AND SYRIA APPARENTLY
WANT JORDAN INVOLVED IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND
THEY SEEM TO ENVISAGE JORDAN AS AN IMPORTANT PART OF
A FINAL PEACE SETTLEMENT THROUGH ITS "POLITICAL
ASSOCIATION" WITH SOME TYPE OF WEST BANK PALESTINIAN
HOMELAND. ISRAEL ALSO APPEARS TO INSIST THAT JORDAN
HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE. KING HUSSEIN WILL CERTAINLY
WANT TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE PRESSURES FOR A
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PAGE 03 AMMAN 00435 01 OF 02 241446Z

ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS BOTH TO PROTECT JORDAN'S
INTERESTS IN A FINAL SETTLEMENT AND TO REINFORCE
THE NOTION OF HIS OWN IMPORTANCE TO THE DIPLOMACY
OF THE AREA. AT THE SAME TIME HE KNOWS THAT TOO
ASSERTIVE A JORDANIAN ROLE NOW MIGHT WELL LEAVE HIM
WITH MORE BLAME THAN HE WANTS FOR THE PAOINFIL COM
PROMISES THAT HE BELIEVES WILL INEVITABLY BE REQUIRED
FOR SETTLEMENT OF THE ISRAELI OCCUPIED WEST BANK AND
EAST JERUSALEM ISSUES. HE WANTS OUR SUPPORT ENCOUR
AGEMENT AND COORDINATION IN FINDING HIS WAY THROUGH THE
DIPLOMATIC MAZE OF HIS RELATIONS WITHIN ARAB COUNCILS.
WITH THE PLO AND AT A POSSIBLE RENEWED GENEVA CON
FERENCE THIS YEAR. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE KING HUSSEIN
TO PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE AS A MODERATE IN THE PEACE
PROCESS AND TO KEEP HIS AND OTHER ARAB POSITION FROM
BECOMING PREMATURELY FIXED. IN DOING SO WE NEED TO
IMPRESS ON HIM OUR APPRECIATION OF JORDAN'S CON
TINUING IMPORTANCE TO US AND TO THE REGION. THIS
WOULD BE EVEN MORE IMPORTANT IF THE PLO WERE TO GAIN

A PLACE IN THE PEACE PROCESS.

4. WAR-FAILURE OR FRUSTRATION OF THE CURRENT ARAB
PEACE OFFENSIVE WOULD UNDERMINE THE PRESENT POLITICAL
LEADERSHIP OF MODERATE ARAB PRAGMATISTS AND BEGIN TO
RELEASE PRESSURES FOR RENEWED ARAB-ISRAELI HOSTILITIES.
JORDAN WITH GREATER DIPLOMATIC INVESTMENT IN ITS
SYRIAN TIES AND WITH WHAT IT HOPES WILL BE CLOSER
RELATIONS WITH EGYPT THIS YEAR, WOULD FIND IT MORE
DIFFICULT THAN IN 1973 TO STAY OUT. WE THINK IT
WOULD STILL TRY TO STAY OUT AS LONG AS POSSIBLE BUT
AT SOME POINT IT MIGHT HAVE TO TRY TO MINIMIZE ITS
MILITARY INVOLVEMENT AND ITS JEOPARDY BY SENDING
TROOPS TO FIGHT IN OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES, AS IT DID
IN SYRIA IN 1973. MEANWHILE ITS MILITARY POSTURE
REMAINS DEFENSIVE. RAPPROACHMENT WITH SYRIA HAS
SLOWED DOWN. KING HUSSEIN'S MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY
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PAGE 04 AMMAN 00435 01 OF 02 241446Z

ADVISERS ARE MORE CAUTIOUS AND CONSERVATIVE THAN
LAST YEARS. THE DIPLOMATIC LEVERAGE ON KING HUSSEIN
OF FINANCIALLY IMPORTANT SAUDI ARABIA IS IMPORTANT
AND BASIC. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE JORDAN'S PREFERENCE
TO AVOID RENEWED ARAB-ISRAELI HOSTILITIES BY CONTINUING
TO MODERNIZE JORDAN'S MILITARY CAPABILITIES AS WELL
AS ITS RESOLVE TO MAKE ITS OWN DECISIONS ABOUT WAR
AND PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. THAT MEANS HIGH LEVEL
ASSURANCES THAT WE CONTINUE TO PLACE REAL IMPORTANCE
ON THE DEFENSE SECURITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY
OF JORDAN WHICH SHOULD BE BACKED UP WITH ADEQUATE
SECURITY ASSISTANCE LEVELS.

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PAGE 01 AMMAN 00435 02 OF 02 241451Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----241453Z 022912 /41

P R 241010Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 287

INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMSCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 AMMAN 0435

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5. POLITICAL STABILITY--JORDANS CONTRIBUTION TO
POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE PENINSULA IS LIMITED BUT
SOMETIMES MORE ACCEPTABLE THAN OURS. IT HELPS
CONTINUE THE FLOW TO JORDAN OF ARAB OIL PRODUCING
STATES FINANCIAL SUBSIDIES THAT OTHERWISE WE MIGHT
BE ASKED TO SUPPLY. THUS WE WANT TO CONTINUE
HIGH LEVEL CONSULTATIONS WITH KINGHUSSEIN ON DEVELOP
MENTS IN THE AREA AND TO SEEK QUICK RESPONSES FROM
THE DEPTMENT FOR HIS REQUESTS FOR OUR MATERIAL
HELP ND APPROPRIATE TRANSFER AUTHORITIES FOR HIS
INITIATIVES. IT ALSO IS IMPORTANT TO US TO HELP
MAINTIN HHE POLITICAL STABILITY OF KING HUSSEINS
OWN REGIME IN JORDAN. THE UNLIKELY ALTERNATIVES
WOULD BE EITHER LEFTISTS-LED OR MORE PROBABLY EAST
BANK DOMINATED ISOLATIONISTS, IN EITHER CASE JORDANS
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PAGE 02 AMMAN 00435 02 OF 02 241451Z

MODERATE INFLUENCE IN THE REGION WOULD RAPIDLY WANE.

THERE ARE INCREASED THREATS TO KINGS REGIME
FROM PALESTINIAN REJECTIONISTS TERRORISTS. THERE ARE
ALSO POTENTIAL PRESSURES ON THE REGIME FOR GREATER
POLITICAL ACTIVISM WITHIN JORDAN ARISING FROM TIES
TO BAATHIST SYRIA AND POLITICALLY VOLATILE
EGYPTFROM THE BUDDING DIALOGUE WITH THE PLO AND
FROM DOMESTIC POLIICAL DISGRUNTLEMENT WITHIN THE
ARMED FORCES AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC OVER INFLATION
AND POOR PUBLIC SERVICES. WE CAN HELP JORDAN DEAL
WITH THESE CHALLENGES IN A VARIETY OF WAYS, INCLUDING
OUR INCREASING EMPHASIS ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT IN UR AID PROGRAM. HOWEVER SOME
FLOOR ON BUDGET SUPPORT WITHIN TITAL ECONOMIC AID
LEVELS CLOSE TO WHAT WE HAVE PROVIDED OVER THE LAST
THREE YEARS(\$75M) WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR THE
FORESEEABLE FUTURE FOR BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

REASONS.

6. MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY, JORDAN WILL CONTINUE TO
VOTE "ARAB" ON ARAB ISRAELI ISSUES. ON OTHER ISSUES
WE CAN FROM TIME T TIME GET ITS SUPPORT WHEN WE
CAN DEMONSTRATE THAT JORDANS VITAL INTERESTS ARE NOT
INVOLVED BUT THAT OURS ARE. IT IS ALSO TRUE WHEN WE CAN
ARGUE THAT JORDAN AS A SMALL STATE WITH FEW RESOURCES
BORDERED BY RADICAL STRONGER ONES AND ENJOYING LONG
AND PROFITABLE RELATIONS WITH THE WEST HAD DISTINCT
INTERESTS FROM SOME THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES DIFFERENTLY
PLACED. WE PLAN TO CONTINUE OUR EDUCATIVE DIALOGUE
WIT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ON THESE ISSUES.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLITICAL STABILITY, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, PEACE PLANS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 24-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977AMMAN00435
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770025-0217
Format: TEL
From: AMMAN
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770126/aaaaawoc.tel
Line Count: 238
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 76b3b7d2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3526474
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: JORDAN-US RELATIONS::ANNUAL POLICY ASSESSEMENT SUMMARY: JORDANS PROPSECTS FOR PLAYING A MODERATING ROLE IN THE PEACE PROCESS HAVE INCREASED OVER
TAGS: PFOR, JO, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbcc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/76b3b7d2-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009